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ABSTRACT

A micro-level project was developed in Pakistan to decrease the number of school dropouts. The program was tested in two rural primary schools by introducing three new types of activities: (1) body movement and educational games; (2) teacher training; and (3) community involvement. Teachers were trained at the school where they worked. After classroom observations were made of teaching activities and behaviors, events were reconstructed for teachers so they could see both the problems and possible solutions of the events. School principals and higher level administrators were also involved. The program has resulted in less strict regimentation in the classroom. Teachers have shifted their emphasis from rote memorization to understanding of concepts and have also become more organized in their teaching tasks. More freedom of movement and speech in classrooms has been observed. The report concludes that the hidden curriculum of staff and the "laissez-faire" attitude of administration and the school community maintained the previous problems experienced at the school. The school-based change program offered many solutions to these problems. (CB)

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A Case Study of a School-based Change

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INTRODUCTION

Pakistan is a developing country, with a population of 83 million. The literacy ratio for both sexes is 26%. Until 1982 the expenditure on education was 1.5% of GNP. It has been increased to 3% and it is proposed to gradually increasing it to 4% of GNP by the year 1988.

The low achievement in education sector is further indicated by the following table:-

Literacy Ratio (in percent)

	Both Sexes	Female	Male
Pakistan	26.17	15.99	35.05
Rural	17.33	7.33	26.24
Urban	47.12	37.27	55.32

Source: Main findings of 1981 Population Census.

Primary education has suffered greatly in rural area where 70% of the population resides. The low literacy rate amongst the females reflect inequitable out-put in education section.

There are 75,000 primary schools. According to census report of 1981, the overall participation rate for children in primary school is 44%; for girls it is 29% which is exactly half of 58% for boys. 70% of the population resides in the village but the condition of schools in rural area presents a sordid picture, in terms of physical facilities and teaching perscnals.

> The highest percentage of drop-out occurs between grades 1 and 2: 25% boys and 40% for girls...(Draft Comprehensive Report, 1983,p.5)

Quite a sizable proportion of schools posses no building. The classes are conducted under shade of trees. Of the schools which do possess some kind of a shelter only 35% of them have satisfactory arrangement, another 35% are in need of major repairs while remaining 30% consist of dilapidatec structions requiring immediate replacement. Most of the female primary schools are located in private houses, due to the absence of school building.

Then rural schools range from one teacher school to three-teacher school for teaching five classes of primary section. Teacher pupil ratio in lower grades I and II range from 1:50 to 1:100. It is rare to find five teachers for five classes. The teachers are low-paid. Their teachers training is either non-existent or inadequate. Socially also the teachers occupy the lowest rungs in the society.

The rural schools are practically unsupervised. The ratio of AEO's (assistant education officers as a supervisor to school) to teachers is 1:500. Absence of transport with difficult travel conditions of villages, a supervisor visits a school from 5 to 8 times in a year.

After independence, in 1947 the country found itself in the task of bringing about changes, in the infrastructure of the new political state. Of all the elements of he infrastructure, the education system was given the foremost priority. This was so, because via education only it is possible, (a) to create a sense of national unity and identity by teaching history and current affairs, (b) to provide a common written and spoken language, (c) to induce a common set of social values, and (d) to provide scientific and technical knowledge giving rise to a balanced economy. All such efforts to rebuilt the nation, takes root from education of the masses, making literacy level of the people as a spring board to achieve the desired ends.

The concern for education at primary level (grade I-V) is paramount among the policy-makers. Despite the many efforts the out-put at primary level presents a depressing picture.

> "More than 50% of our population consists of females but their overall literacy rate in rural areas is 5.5% and in extreme cases like Baluchistan, it is no more than .8%..... Inspite of our efforts made, by the end of 1982, these were more primary children out of school than ever before.. (Khawaja, 1984, p.8)

In an attempt to ameliorate the existing condition of education emphasis was placed on improving the physical facilities like building schools or constructing the boundary walls of girls schools. In addition there is a continuous effort to improve the quality of curriclulum. In all this teachers have been ignored. They are never consulted nothing concrete has been evolved to improve the teachers training institutes, nor there is any serious thought being given to in-service training component.

Historically the policy makers have been convinced with only one kind of innovation strategy in education, that is power-coercive strategy, (Hennis, Benne and Chin 1969); it involves the use of political, economic and legal sanctions to enforce change.

There has been a considerable shift in the thinking for implementing a change in education. It is in terms of giving consideration to factors like, innovation in respect to the existing systems of the country, the situational and cultural context, the perception of the users and the changes in roles and relationships required for an institutionalization of a change.

The individual schools seems to be the most plausible solution to effective innovation. Working with teachers in live situation would not only help the teachers to adapt to change, but would give new perceptions to change agents regarding the utility and the impact of innovation. Moreover innovations at school level would have more chance to be adapted by the school as it would be incorporating in itself the existing reality of school.

> Changes in the education system must involve their links with and relations to schools. It is of little use changing the organisation pattern at the system level if the schools are not affected. (Hughes, 1984, p.12.)

It was in the context of the existing condition of primary school and of the innovative attempts of the past in education that National Institute of Psychology started a school-based innovative programme in two rural primary schools one for girls and one for boys in Federal area of Islamabad. The two schools were selected in a village (Mohri) 100 KM from the Federal area. It was a typical village, non electirfied and situated of the main road with dust track instead of metalled road leading to the village.

Let us first talk about the inputs of the school-base change programme, comming later on to the details of the schools. The inputs introduced in the experimental schools were as follows:

1. Emphasis on perceptual motor activities and thinking skills rather than memorization. While the curriculum contents will remain the same as for other schools, a greater emphais will be placed on letting the child experience himself as spontaneous thinking person in variety of games and activities. They were body movement games, games using the perceptual quality of the senses, and activities for understanding of the classlessness.

2. Involvement of the community: It was proposed that attempt should be made to involve the whole community in teaching-learning, rather than to install the school as an alien factor unrelated to the life of the community.

3. In order to bring a change in schools relationship with the community and introducing changes in teaching method it will be absolutely essential to train or rather retrain teachers in new methods of teaching and keep a close supervision on them for at least two years.

Two research scholars were appointed and trained for this project to work with the teachers, pupils and community. The project was extended over a period of two years.

The objective of the project was to reduce the drop-out in the early grades 1 and II. Pupils of class 1 and class II and their respective teachers were intensively involved. Children from other grades were also involved in various educational games and activities.

Description of the schools:

Boys School: Mohri

It consisted of 3 small rooms and a varandah. The walls of class rooms were white washed and bare with no charts or pictures. Each room had a chair and a table for the teacher. The children sat on the floor in columns on the long rectangular mats underneath them. Classes 1,II and III were conducted in the rooms whereas the children of IV and V grades are seated in the verandah and the front yard under the clumps of trees.

The staff consisted of 4 teachers, including the principal. The principal is B.A B.ed and the three other teachers are certified as PTC. A person with matriculation (Grade X) given one year teaching training is granted a Primary Teaching Certificate. Because of scarcity of staff the principal carries out the function of administration and teaching. One room of the school consititutes his office-cum classroom.

The Mohri boys school consisted of 50 children in an age range from 5 to 13 years, variedly distributed between grade I-V. Class I had 20 children, class II and Class III 10 children each, class IV 7 children and class V had 3 children.

Girls School: Mohri

It consisted of medium sized five rooms with a large verandah. The insides of class rooms and the sitting arrangements were same as in the boys school, except that the girl's school had a boundary wall around it. During the first year of the project there were 3 teachers only including the principal. But for the 2nd year due to NIP's efforts the school got one local teacher transfered from another school.

The principal is a graduate. The three teachers are all certified as PTC. The principal carries on the role both of an administrator and a teacher.

The Mohri girls school had 63 pupils with the same age range as of boys, that is, 5-13 years. Class 1 had 35 pupils, class II 12 pupils, class III 7 pupils, class IV 5 pupils and class V 4 pupils.

The children of both the schools belong to various socio-economic status. There were children of land lords, agriculturists, shop keepers, government employees such as clerks, peons and drivers, field labourers, shoe makers and pottery makers. The land lord's and agriculturist's children were in miniority not more than 10 in numbers where as children from lower socio-economic classes formed the majority.

Management of the Schools:

The project was implemented in March 1983. The school had enroled new pupils for grade 1. The principals of both the schools had decided to teach grade II. The reason given was that the administrative duties in the school take a lot of their time.

The lower grades 1 and II are taken non seriously. The children are not exposed to any kind of orientation that prepares them intellectually or socially for school. Grade 1 children were given just the task of writing the alphabets over and over again. The children were slapped very frequently for making noise or moving from their mats. The teachers were observed as not communicating to them but rather there was lot of yelling and scolding on the part of the teacher. The kids are so frightened that they stared back froozen at the teachers instruction, without making an effort to do something. This further frustrated the teacher and the vicious circle of teacher's beating and confused responses of children sets in. The teachers gave following reasons for behaving in this manner to lower grade children:

- since the parents of those children are illiterate they are dumb;

- they need to be trained how to respect a teacher and pay attention to the teacher;

- they need to be taught how to sit and behave in the class;

- these methods are used to create fear in the children because unless the children fear the teacher he shall never work hard in school;

By the time the children reach grade II they have learned how to behave as a good pupil which they show via maintaining a respectable distance, not to speak until spoken to, sit rigidly and stare at teachers' face when he is teaching, accept his maltreatment with a good faith that it is the best for their learning.

Regular chanting in groups starts in grade II. By this time only the "brave" ones have stayed on, the "dull and retarded" are made to repeat class 1 or they drop out of school. Keeping the children in grade 1 for 2 years is a very common phenomenon in the rural area. No material was used for concept learning. Actually the real text books were not consulted. The teachers decided on their own how to proceed. The boys school had a library of about eighty books. The books were locked up for last eight years, looked up only for physical verification on yearly basis when the school inspection was due. The boys school also had few items of sports material for the children: two footballs, a cricket bat and six hockeys. These things also lay locked up. Primary education kit was also supplied to the school but nobody used it. The lower classes would be handed over to V grade students whose task was to involve the lower grade children in group rote memorization exercise. These older children had the same rights as of the teacher. They would frequently beat the child and the teacher would just ignore it.

It has been observed that teachers behavior is more negatively oriented towards the children from lower socio-economic status. The teachers exhibit sympathatic attitude to their parents problems and even gave away money and clothes as a gesture of help. But they do not believe that there is need for their children to learn. Thus such children are used to run errands from them. Whenever there is discipline problem these children get all the blame and are severely dealt with.

The teacher's were absent from school quite frequently. They were arriving late in the morning and would try to depart early before the official closing time of schools. The male teachers were found to be involved in side business. One teacher owned a shop, and the principle was running a private school in his village. The reason for frequent absence of female teachers was personal problems mostly family feuds. The two female teachers were under constant pressure of their husbands to leave the job a it was social a stigma for the family to let the women go out and earn.

Besides this the teachers indulged in inappropirate habits. They would spend hours of the morning reading newspaper and taking tea. The recess would continue for indefinate period, depending upon the teachers mood. Then the female teachers were bring their knitting to the class and occasionally would also cook in the school, making the children do the dishes afterwards.

Both the primary schools were practically unsupervised. The schools are visited by the supervisors from 5-8 times per year. Our observation of the supervisors occasional visits to our schools is that he limits himself to checking of attendance registers, which we had found out to be fake filled in by the teachers at their will or asking irrelavant knowledge questions from the children. Our discussion with him confirmed that he neither has the time nor is trained to help the teacher in pedagogical issues. The supervisor seemed to have a mutual alliance with the teachers. The teachers arranged elaborate tea for him and he leaves with favourable remarks for the principal.

It has been observed that real teacher-child interaction in individualised form takes place in grade V, where the class consists of 5 pupils only. The class V examination is a governments examination. The whole image of tne school is based upon the results of this examination. Few months before examinations the teachers even stay late in the evenings for coaching the children, which is in reality intensive rote memorization based on the question papers of previous years class 5th examinations. The children of class V mostly belong to the elite class of the village.

The most astonishing fact revealed was that the teachers had no understanding of the concepts of curriculum. This was true for new as well as for the experinced teachers.

In conclusion, there seems no exaggeration to state that teachers use the children as toys in their hands manipulating them for their own personal services and using them to maintain a system of values which is convenient to them.

Children in School:

The children had no concept about the personal hygiene. They lived in their school uniform and changed after a week. They were coming to school without shoes. The faces were unwashed with dirty and uncombed hair. As compared to girls the personal hygiene of the boys was a little better.

The had no self control. They flared up at the slightest provocation get into physical fights. This was more commonly observed amongest the girls than the boys. The older kids would tease the younger kids and the rich kids bullied the poorer ones.

They reacted to social situation very erratically. They would be extremely passive in one situation and showed overt agression in another situation. They did not know how to share things and grabed whatever aroused their interest. They never asked for permission, they simply took. The lack of respect for other's property was accompanied by their stealing behaviour. They would hide erassers, pencils , beads, toy annimals, whatever they would get their hands on. They walked in a clumsy way. They stepped on each others hands and feet while walking in the class. They pushed in and out of the class in large group pushing and falling over each other while passing through the door. The children of the elite class would use the poorer children to run errands for them, like picking up their bags, getting them a glass of water fetching other things for them etc.

They exhibited no preserverance. They would go through the play objects very quickly without producing a required solution and start looking for something new. The use of abusive language was very common. They spoke the local language and had considerable difficulty in following Urdu, the language of medium of instruction in schools.

Another difficulty in communicating to the children were their habit of repeating of whatever was said to them. For example when asked to please move forward, they would simply say in chorus "move forward". When they were suggested to trace out their hands with coloured pencils,

the whole period was spent in doing the same activity over and over again. At times some children would sit dazed on the mat staring at the coloured pencils. When handed over a blue pencil to work with, they would continue aimlessly doodling on the paper with the same pencil without choosing an another.

The harsh and irresponsible behaviour of the teachers induced the children with fear and lack of self confidence. They exhibited a strong sense of self preservation with no in-group feeling. They acted out impulsively without any regard to the consequences. Our interaction was reduced to creating an atmosphere of order and discipline accompanied by our attempts to retain the spontaneous behavior of the children.

Methodology

The project was of two years duration. It was a sort of constant experimention by keeping a close contact with the staff and children of the school vis-a-vis the daily routine of the institution. As the problems came up the priorities were changed. As such, the strategies were flexible.

The schools were visited four days a week. The remaining two days of the week were spend in visiting the community. The project staff would be present in the schools throughout its working hours, i.e. from eight in the morning to one in the afternoon.

Of the 3 membered project team, there were two research officers (one male and one female) and a principal investigator. The male research officer visited the boys school and the female the girls schools. The principal investigator was the overall incharge for the execution of the project.

To begin with the following strategies were utilized in the implementation of the change at various levels.

Gaining access to the experimental schools:

The strategy used was to enter the institutions slowly and gradually. For this the following steps were taken:

- after selection of the Mohri schools as experimental schools there were series of meetings between the project staff and the school staff;

- the involvement of the director of education who was the chief administrator of the schools in Federal area.

The idea was to procure the teachers participation. The gain of trust was essential, for without their active support the project was deemed to failure, before it even began. Also in a system where education is centralised, the directived from the external administration like the director of education was essential to justify our presence in schools.

Involvement of the teachers:

Attempts were made to involve the teachers via three steps:

- appraising the teachers of how to use games and play as a learning experience;

- showing the teachers how to do it.

- asking the teachers to use the technique with the children.

Intially we had come to supplement the supposedly existing teaching skill of the teachers, that they had learned during their pre-service training. The teachers confessed their ignorance of the curriculum contents it became obvious that subsequent attempts to innovation should include helping the teacher with the curriculum contents.

It was impossible to reteach the whole curriculum to the teachers. After discussion, it was decided, on the teacher's request to help them out in maths. Two teachers one from boy's school and one from the girls school decided to work with us on class II math contents. The teacher was explained the concept via the use of concrete objects. She then used the concept with the children. Her class lesson were audiotaped in the present of live observer. The tapes were played back and both, the contents of the tape and the live observer's comment were used as the feedback to the teacher.

Involvement of the principal

The steps taken to involve the principal were:

- involving the principal in decision-making about the plans and of the innovation;
- in addition to our direct contact with the teachers, the principal was used as a medium of communication to the teachers, concerning issues like absentism, cooking in school, late arrival and early departure of the teachers;
- involving the principal to get into direct contact with children, by encouraging the principal to evaluate his teachers performance via talking to the children concerning issue like physical punishment, classs lessons and difficulties of the children.
- making the principal feel accountable by encouraging him to organise formal staff meetings in regard to the various aspects of innovation.
- instead of directly letting the staff deal with the parents, using the principal to lay down ground rules for interaction of the teachers and the parents to avoid conflicts.

Involving the community

Involvement of the community has been the weakest of all other aspects of innovation. Thus was due to the following reasons:-

- it was difficult to get the community members to assemble at one place due to splits in the community because of family feuds and politics;
- the teachers felt insecure in interacting with the community members and actively discouraged outsiders to visit school;
- the parents were illiterate and as such did not have the confidence to discuss their childs problems with teachers.

Consequently the visits to the community were sporadic and limited only to visiting parents twice a week. To begin with female project members started making the contact with the elite class of the village by visiting their women folks in the morning. The visit to the fathers were arranged by the male member of the project staff in the evenings and during Fridays, when they would be home; the contacts were limited to the issues concerning their own child, regarding his progrees on problem in school, the childs' activities and interests at home. Rather than emphasizing the group contribution, we limited ourselves to child and his parents.

Involvement of the children

The children were involved by working in three areas with them:

1. Initiating the children to function as a group.

The group behavior was accomplished by involving the children to indulge in activities in small sub-groups. ranging from two to four members. The communication pattern within a sub group was encouraged on the premises of respect for each other and mutual agreements. Clarity of communication was given the due consideration.

Appropriate group behaviour was initiated by emphasing the factors as follows:

- common rules are necessary so that the group can function; but the rules were few and were consistently and fairly enforced.
- students were participants in making rules whenever possible.
- rules were positively and clearly phrased; for e.g. instead of saying "Don't shout" one would say "go close to your friend and whisper to her".

2. Keeping the motivation alive.

This was accomplished via:

- controlling the element of social prejudice against the children of low socio-economic level.
- encouraging the spontaneous behavior of the child.
- creating a predictable order of working hours in schools;
- maintaining a warm relationship with the children.

3. Dealing with discipline problems.

The technique of behavior modification was used whereby non-punishable methods were utilised to change specific patterns of inappropriate behavior. This approach consists of two components:

- specification of the undersirable behavior and a preferred desirable behavior to replace it.

- deciding which rewards and reinforcements sustain the unwanted behavior and which rewards and reinforcements increase the frequency of the desired behavior.

Punishment was only used when the preventive measures failed.

In that case punishment immediately followed the undersirable behavior, ~~it~~ punishment was administered consistently it was strong enough to just stop the undesirable behavior and the child was not unnecessarily humiliated in front of the class.

The strategy used with the children was as follows:

- observation of the children in interaction with each other during class and outside class;

- observation of the children in interaction with teachers during class and outside the class;

- developing rapport with the children through direct contact and via use of folk stories and folk games;

- applying the principal of shaping i.e. reinforcing the behavior that approximates the desired behavior gradually expecting more accuracy and persistence;

- modeling the behavior that we want our pupils to initiate;

- involving the children in interpersonal problem solving via identifying the problem, generating number of solutions and finally evaluating the solutions.

- making efforts that the child comes to school with breakfast;

- motivating the children to come to school reasonably clean;

- parents were contacted so that they send the children to school appropriately dressed for the weather; and that they come to school with shoes or sandals;

- making the child physically comfortable in class; this does not refer to providing of furniture but making the teacher realise not to make them sit stationary for hours; letting them change their physical posture when sitting on floor, making them sit with their backs rested against the walls and changing the location of the class in extreme weather conditions, like moving under tree shade when hot inside or taking class in the sun outside during cold season.

Findings

Drop-outs:

As a part of the main project, a case study of 10, randomly selected rural primary schools, was conducted in Islamabad. According to this study the average drop-outs were 16% (both males and females). The average failure rate for both sexes was estimated to be 40%, the average out-puts of these schools at the end of five years constituting a primary stage came out to be 18%. These figures imply that in-school factors play a major role in precipitating the drop-out phenomenon via the high failures rates, thereby constituting a potential future drop-outs.

School-Child-Community:

The culture of school is alien to the culture of the children in the rural community. This is explicated as follows:

1. Life in rural community consists of large open space with no obligation to share it with others. Sharing of a one-room physical space in school requires certain learned group behaviors such as sharing, cooperating, helping, protecting one's own right and respecting other's rights. Sharing a limited space creates disciplinary problems. These children have been used to running and playing in large open fields. To them the class room is like a prison.

2. Another aspect of community living is that the inhabitants of like socio-economic status live close to each other with physical distance between the houses of families of different socio-economic status. In school the children

of boot makers, field labourers, agriculturists, land-lords etc. are all bunched together within the walls of school. Evidently in such a situation, there is an accumulation of varied and opposing norms and values. The most damaging of which is the element of social prejudice against various professios of low socioeconomic status, leading to victimisation of children by children. Along side is the prejudiced attitude of the teachers, thereby creating a stressful situation for some children making school as an unpleasant place to be in.

3. In community living our observation has been that people have a loose concept of time. They have unlimited time at their disposal. The doing of things or events are delayed without any consideration because it does not matter in their simple daily living. Children indulge in daily routine as it is convenient to them or to the parents. The school life is time-bound.

4.
The children are frequently used as helping hands to parents. Male children graze cattle, prepare food for domestic animals, accompany fathers to local markets, work in the field etc, whereas female children help mothers house-hold duties of washing, cooking, cleaning and baby sitting the younger siblings. This upsets the regular attendance of school, creating conflicts between the child and the teacher.

5. In community the members regard the events of life as extrinsic factor of destiny and luck. The harsh realities of daily living makes them to relate to present only. The future is unknown and its useless to plan for it. Related to this is an attitude of immediate gratification of needs. Whereas school demand constant attention, efforts from within and planning for future goals. The way school wants the children to relate to living is in contrast to the patterns of living in the community.

6. Boys do thinks in terms of working in offices, industry or going overseas for better paid labour. The adult male models are there to guide their relationship to importance of literacy. For females it is different. The literate females are seen carrying on the same chores and burdens of daily living as the ones who are illiterate, thereby creating a bias against the eduation.

Changes in children due to Community involvement:

1. The children of the experimental schools made obvious improvements in their personal hygiene. But again in extreme cold months there was observed a drop in the personal hygiene. This was due to lack of easily available hot water.

2. The parents spared the children from house-hold work in the evenings, so that they could study at home. As the result of making the parents realise the importance of break-fast and lunch, the children came to school with full break fast and lunch for recess.

Changes in children due to introduction of games and play:

1. The attendance of the children in the experimental schools not only showed a marked improvement but it was sustained over a period of two years. It was observed that the most children would absent themselves in the first week after vacations, during rainy season and on extreme hot or cold days. This is attributed to the fact that the children walk to school for quite a distance and the school has no provision to counter-act the extreme temperatures of the weather.

2. The body movement games helped the children to manoeuvre their bodies smoothly through narrow doors and amongst the class sitting on the floor. Inept movements while sitting on the mat had been replaced by the non-disruptive leg stretch, arm extension or a smooth change in the body posture.

3. Their habit to ripe apart copies, smashing other children's slates or kicking of neighbours bags has been replaced by a genuine concern for other's property.

4. The children started exhibiting a strong sense of responsibility contrary to the teacher's expectations. After finishing the work all the children would be anxious to put back as many pieces of play material as they had taken from the cupboard. The misplaced articles like buttons, blocks, pegs would be carefully searched for.

5. Our intervention induced in the children a sense of willingness to share material, tolerating the presence of others and working side by side with each other without disharmony.

6. During group activities the children stayed in their space area and did not scatter about aimlessly as they frequently did in the early phase of the project.

7. Perseverance was evident in response to the problems. They persistently plodded and maintained efforts to solve the problem.

8. The use of folk games and folk stories instilled in the children a respect for rules and regulations. This is because these games and stories had the theme of appreciation and success for following specific rules, where-by the deviants had nothing but disgrace for them. The characters and concepts were familiar to them and the children could relate to them effectively.

9. The children brought to class anything interesting they found in the fields. The room always had variety of flowers, leaves, rocks and wild fruit. There was reawakening of interest in things previously familiar.

Changes in children due to teacher's training:

1. School timings were gradually being appreciated. In the morning children would arrive in time. As the teachers started observing the school timings, the children increasingly followed.

2. The children from low economic group started expressing resentment to the desire of the children of land lords to run errands for them. They refused by telling them off. The rich kids not used to this attitude threatended to send for their fathers to beat them up. The project teams constant emotional support to the attitude of resentment on the part of children of low socio-economic status and the constant referral to the school rule, that all are to be treated equally, finally got all the children to appreciate the rule.

3. The stealing behaviour of children that was prevalent in the early phase of the project soon dissipated.

4. Free expression of aggression had been replaced by discussion and mutual agreement.

5. As the result of the change in teacher's behaviours the children starting expressing their needs eloquently like, "I feel sick", I need some more material to finish my work", "I do not like to work with crayons, can I have coloured pencils".

6. In the beginning they aped the teachers actions and took in all what the teacher said. But with the more accepting attitude of the teacher they were expressing diverse opinions, and would not hesitate to express their likes and dislikes.

7. The children readily gave feed back to the teacher as to how much of the lesson they understood, through asking specific questions, expressing satisfaction and displaying insightful behaviour.

8. Another essential change was their reduced physical distance with the teacher. They approached her frequently, maintained a steady eye contact and listened intently. Occasionally the children would hold her dupatta or shirt to get her/his attention.

9. The children started conversing in the national language and were following instructions adequately.

10. One very essential change due to the intervention was, decreased preference to rote memorization.

11. The children started resenting when their parents would come to school and show disrespect to their teachers.

12. Their class work had become neat. They leave adequate margin and make efforts to write straight on the paper.

13 Children inquired about the mistakes in their work, redo the question again and hand it over to the teacher for checking.

14. They pointed out the mistakes to the teacher presented their views quite frankly, and asked lot more questions.

15. In class the children no longer rhymed back the phases of the teacher. They listened intently, reflected and answered in their own choice of words.

16. The two types of children verbal and non-verbal, both showed a change with relation of the original personality. The verbal children expressed the change in form of lot of questions. The non-verbal children indicated change via looking, touching, listening manipulating. In fact utilizing their senses to full but not asking numerous questions.

17. A change, perceived by the teachers as a threat to their authority and respect, was change in the consciousness of the pupils. They expressed their greviances to the principal that the teachers have no right to beat them. The principal was first taken back, but he did reprimanded the concerning teacher to be more careful of his behavior.

Changes in the teacher's behaviour

In classroom:

1. The most essential change that took place as the result of our intervention was, that the teachers started teaching the new curriculum that had been gradually implemented since 1972, but ignored by them as they never understood the new concepts, inspite of training given to them at the national level.

2. Lesson planning in advance became a regular feature with teachers. Teacher prepared herself ahead of the class and presented the class lessons in sequential order.

3. As the consequence of the intervention, teachers had started emphasizing the concept learning via the manipulation of concrete material. This was observed to be specially true during math lessons.

4. The ruthless beating of the children and the use of derogatory remarks by the teachers had decreased to a considerable extend. Through the beating behavior has not diminished entirely, the teacher without a rod in hand is no longer an unusual sight in our schools.

5. Rote memorization has been restricted to certain areas ony, such as learning poems, and multiplication tables. Otherwise the liberal use of this strategy to learn lessons has been curtailed.

6. In asking questions from the children, they probe for reasons encourage diverse answers (depending upon the questions) and appreciate the child's efforts to answer.

7. The teacher had started appreciating the concept of physical proximity to the child. They are seen touching or patting the children. One female teacher developed a habit of squatting on the floor next to the child to be at her eye level while helping the child with a problem.

8. As the result of the intervention the teachers used more and more of urdu language and refrained from speaking local language, using the latter only under special circumstance when the child had difficulty in understanding a concept.

9. During the class lessons the teachers no longer stand or sit in one place. They move, walk around the children working on the floor.

10. The children walking around the room, or shifting of positions like a leg stretch or resting of elbows on the knees does not upset the teacher.

11 Depending upon the lesson the seating arrangement would change into small circles, one large circle or it is uhaped depending upon the need of the class lesson. Before the intervention the children were observed to sit in long columns and once the child placed himself on the mat, any further movement would be strictly dealt with.

12. The once pin-drop silence and frozen faces during class lesson has been replaced by the moderate noise level and expressive faces of children involved in various activities.

13. Previously the disciplinary probelms would be dealt with physical punishment. The deviant may or may not be identified. Anybody suspected for misbehavior would get beat up. Our intervention helped the teacher to replace this behaviour by a more logical approach of using the event as a problem solving issue for the whole class and as such using games and play to identify the necessity of appreciating rules and rights of others. Consequently the teacher instead of losing temper started playing attention to the cause of the misbehaviour and finding effective solution for prevention in the future.

14. The teachers exhibited behaviour indicating their sensitivity to child's state of mind and feelings. For example a child sometimes shuts off and any amount of attention is fruitless to bring him to organise his thoughts and concentrate on the task.,Under such condition the teachers have been observed to withdraw leaving the child to his thoughts but coming back to him a little later with helpful suggestion, and a word of encouragement to try again.

15. One area that need a more refinement in developing the skill on the part of the teacher is the domain of the use of the language in class. Over long years the teachers have been standing in front of the class with a rod in hand and delivering lectures in an authoritarian manner. With change in teacher-child interaction pattern the teacher needs lot more time and training in undoing his/her over-learned communication pattern and to relearn the new pattern that gives consideration to the child's intellectual social and affective developemnt. Teachers have been observed, and they themselves have expressed the difficulty in asking questions, probing for understading, relating facts and using the children right and wrong answer to maintain a useful steady and smooth discourse in class. (This area of verbal communication shall be taken up more intensively with the expected extension of the project for two more years). Following are presented the difficulties encountered by the teacher in the classroom:-

The Teacher's behaviour:

Out side the class:

1. The most essential contribution of the project has been in terms of reducing the teacher's absentism.

2. It was a usual routine for the teachers to close school 2 to 3 hours before the offical closing time. Also the teachers would arrive late in the morning. This practise was checked because of our intervention.

3. Another inappropriate habit of the female staff was checked and that was cooking and knitting during school hours.

4. The male staff instead wasted time taking long hours to read the news paper. This activity as the result of intervention was restricted to, during recess only.

5. In the beginning the staft was very sensitive to discuss thier needs and problems openly in front of each other. Specially the questions about their teaching behaviour aroused a very defensive attitude. They were very protective of each others habits and refrained from talking about others when in a group. But in private they would make critical remarks and ask for clarification of their difficulties in following the concepts of the curriculum. Once we found that they do not know the curriculum and started helping them in their regular lessons, the hostile and defensive attitude was replaced with eagerness, frankness, and open discussions. They started welcoming the suggestions from each other, while giving their own helpful remarks.

6. Our experience with teachers in general and with experimental group in specific, we found that they are unable to voice their area of deficiency. Their statements or suggestions are vague, the content being very banal like, there is a need to work hard, we are responsible for making children a true citizen to their country etc. They had to directed and pointed out to the real issue.

7. It has been our experience that topics like, teacher-child social-interaction, individual personality of the child, the affective and motor development, are not considered essential by the teachers. But once the needs of the teachers are assessed and provided alternative solutions, a sympathetic warm and understanding attitude spontaneously shows up in her behaviour.

8. The local teacher has found to be more energetic during the school hours. She was more inclined to accept the new ideas than other teachers. Moreover she was found to be less hostile to the children.

9. In the beginning the teachers were defensive towards interacting with the parents and discouraged them from visiting the school. But gradually they started interacting with them, in a researved manner. Their defensive attitude can be attributed to the following reasons:

- the teachers own insecurity,
- the different political affiliations of the village inhabitants,
- the family feuds of the community.

10. The local teacher can play on essential role in creatin and maintaining a close relationship between the community and the school. This was found to be due to:

- the existence of feeling mutual trust between the teacher and her/his community
- the possibility of teacher to meet parents even after school hours.
- a sense of respect for the teacher as being a knowledgable person of ones village.

11. The commonly witnessed fatigued and tired appearance of the teachers is not so much related to the work-load inside the schools as it is related to their other personal variables. Because of dissatisfaction with the existing pay

scale, the male teachers have side business, like running a shop, a private school or doing agriculture on regular basis. They were also frequently visiting the administration office due to held-up pay or promotion problems. These activities fatigued the teachers. On the female side, there may not be a financial burden but the element of social stigma that women being a bread earner made them tense and anxiety ridden negatively effecting their work in school. At times their husband and men of the family created lot of trouble in an attempt to force them to leave the job. Moreover if something is to be sorted out with the administration she has to wait for the men of her family to visit the administration and do the needful. Naturally she feels restricted and annoyed.

The female teachers carried over with them the ambivalent attitude of the society concerning the female education. As females they themselves feel inscure about their decision to be educated, and feel no pride in being an earning members of the family.

Role of the Principal:

In relation to teachers:

1. The most positive change that was observed on the part of the principal was organisation of formal staff meetings, which previously were non-existent. The principal started supplementing the informal discussions with formal goal directed meetings.

2. The principal started keeping a record of the daily routine of the teachers regarding attendance, arrival time to school and departure time from school.

3. As the result of the intervention he started taking keen interest in the teaching behavior of the teachers as to the strategies and methodolgoy used, giving an initiative and encouragment to the teacher to try out new ways.

4. He kept himself informed as to how and where the teachers were in regard to the content of the curriculum. This involvement resulted in a positive change regarding the perception of the difficulties of the teachers in an attempt to finish the syllabus. The staff began to express opinions openly and frankly, leading to the discussions and critical examination of each other strategies and strong points, creating an atmosphere of striving for a single goal: in what way can the children become better learners. This created an honest relationship between the staff and the principal forgoing the previous attitude of indulging in excessive self defensive behaviour to rationalize their short comings. This lead to a better understanding between the principal and the teachers.

5. The principals interested in the daily problems of the teachers created a feeling of in-group whereby any single teahers' issue would become the central issue of all, giving new perception to the individual teacher in redefining his narrow point of view. The principal was making an effort to play the role of an effective leader by creating cooperation vis-a-viz the coordination.

6. The principal started showing an attitude of tolerance toward failure to succeed, and unpredictability involved in an innovation. This was shown by his behaviour of weighing pros and cons of innovation in perspective to the whole system of education with emphasisis on tackling the problems realistically and bringing out suggestion to utilise the availabe resources.

7. He distributed the administrative responsibilities among his staff so that he need not spend time outside school.

In relation to children:

Our intervention developed an insight that principal can play a very effective role in preventing physical abuse of children by the teachers. On the complain of the children, the principals intervention cautioned the teachers to be more careful with the children. This created a new role of the principal acting as a go-between the children and the teacher.

The principals' keen interest was made explicit when on his initiation and determination he got the elite class of the community to arrange for transporation, with the help of which the schools has the first picnic for the children. This has an obvious implication for future.

In relation to the community:

The principal started meeting the parents giving them the time and showing patience to their simple and crude way of venting out greviances against teachers or in relating the their child's problems with family at home. Though it was too early to excpet any concrete change because of this, it was a break through of the previous attitude of the school whereby too various a parent was sent away with threats.

Individually the parents have started showing interest in the welfare of their child by increased visitation to school. But getting the group together for mutual discussions is a long way due to family and political rvalries.

The Community Involvement:

1. Our involvement with the community was premature in one sense and a useful exercise in another sense. It was premature because we got the parents convinced of their contribution in the education of their children, we aroused in them the desire to come to school and inquire about the progress of their children from the teachers, without adequately preparing the already insecure teachers to receive the parents. The result was that the visits to the school by the parents turned out to be an exchange of hot words and sending the parents home more annoyed than before. But it was useful too as it gave us insight into the living conditions of the school population.

2. The parent usually visited the school during crises as when one boy was hurt badly climbing a tree, his father came and inquired about the real issue. Ordinarily when the children are mal-treated, the issue is ignored by the community.

3. Since the parents are semi literate or lliterate they feel less confident in approaching the teacher. Even when they do approach the teacher, they cannot offer any concrete solutions.

4. The counselor of the village a political figure was a controversial figure. He was ineffective in involving the community. Moreover he did not seem interested in the school affairs.

5. It has been our experience that though the mother plays a central role in the primary shcool children's education by taking care of their physiological and emotional needs, the fathers are the ultimate authority determining the course of action of learning. This was found to be true for female children. The fathers attitude played a definate role in pursuing the goals of school.

6. Most mothers being economically dependant on men had ambivalent attitudes towards education. Whereas the fathers held strong attitude positive or negative toward the child's edugation.

7. The women of elite class were found to be more dependent on their men. For e.g. they would not go out without the husbands permission which were rearely granted. They were supposed to be the model for other women of the village by keeping up a very traditional role: the staying within the walls of the house and by keeping a very humble profile towards their husbands. Physically they appeared to be sickly and pale.

8. The women of low socio economic status enjoyed more liberty of physical movement in the village. They go out to fulfill the requirements of the house hold. They were less dependant on their husbands for decisions. As such they enjoyed more liberty than the elite class women. Physically they were more robuste and energetic.

Conclusions

Our experimental project was innovative in a sense that it was geared towards "self renewing change" rather than "one shot updating attempt of improving the teaching-learning in primary school.It worked on the "deep structure" of the school and attempted to bring about the change in the traditional roles and relationships. The project aimed at changing the principal-teacher, teacher-teacher and teacher-pupil relationship. It also attempted to bring about school-community interaction, though there was less of a success in this respect, and more of a success in improving the relationships between school staff. The overal product has been an accretion of small changes in the daily routine of the teachers and the children. Negotiations, face-to-face explanations, questioning, proof of utility, compromise, all formed an essential ingredient in motivating and sustaining the change in the school personals, and the pupils.

The conclusions are along with the following lines: Causes of drop-outs are generalised. Regional differnces are ignored by the policy makers. For e.g. in rural Barani area of Islamabad, factor of failures was more crucial than drop-outs. Our interaction, with the communites at various levels reached a conclusion that all types of parents are eager for education of their children, irrespective of their socio-economic status. The fact that drop-outs constitute 16%, and failure 40% reveals the self defeating system operative in schools. The causes of drop-outs in rural school of Islamabad lies within the school system.

The society's demarkation of roles for the poor, its expectation of performance from them, its down-grading and demeaning attitude towards them is brought to play very systemetically in school by the teachers creating stressful situation for such children. They are demoralised and a fear of school is instilled in them accompanied by a feeling of inadequacy of their presonnal worth as a thinking intelligent humen beings. Thus the majority of children are made to leave schools and only the few children of the elite class reach grade V. This leads us to another conclusion instead of being worried about the children who never get enroled, energy should be invested in terms of keeping the enroled children from dropping out of schools.

Another important conclusion of this project has been in terms of the inability of the education department in fulfilling its obligation of teachers' training for the implementation of the new curriculum. The new curriculum was implemented gradually from 1970 onwards. In our experimental schools as well as in other schools in rural area the teacher are following the old curriculum in practice of teaching.

The teachers insecurity and subsequent hostility and resistance to our innovative attempts was traced to their lack of understanding of the curriculum. The first priority than came to be retraining teachers in curriculum contents. No matter innovative policies are created, the mediator of knowledge are the teachers and unless and until they are made secure in the relevant knowledge of what they are suppose to teach, all endeavors shall end in failure. It has been our experience that as soon as we turned our attention towards helping the teachers the concepts of curriculum, their negative attitude towards us decreased. In addition we found them to be subsequently exhibiting a better understanding and insight into the use of concrete experience for teaching the children.

Accepting that the teachers are key to innovation,in our cultural context the breaking away of traditional role and attitude of teacher in classroom is a crucial factor. Our experience is that even when we clarified a concept to a teacher, there had to be a conscious and definate on our part to prevent the teacher from resorting to beating and rote memorisation.

"if fundamental systematic change is sought or required, the problem associated with changing the repertoires of habitual behavior of many, many teachers must faced" (McKinney and Westbury 1975; P.46)

Accordingly Huberman (1973,p.5) related innovation to humen behavior and relationships.

The work of education is done in the classroom and it is here that improvements be sought. The classroom observations through live observer and tape recording of class teachers lessons proved to an effective method in changing teachers traditional teaching style.

A school is an institution with specific regulations. There is an expectation of certain forms ot behaviour from the pupils. When the students understand and appreciates the regulations and goes alongwith its expectation, their stay in the system is comfortable and pass through it for a fixed period of time.

Teaching rural children requires to their environment plus an understanding of their way of perceiving the reality. If teachers are selected and trained with the mental-set that they will be working with rural children, they would perhaps be more positively oriented towards them rather than constantly harbouring wish for being transferred to city schools.

But then who would wanted to be selected on the basis for working in rural area only? A solution to this could take the form of keeping the teachers placed in their respective village schools. We have experienced that a local teacher has lot more energy and confidnece to work with innovative ideas. This is because of the following facts:

- a local teacher is not stressed by housing problems (teachers working in rural areas face great difficulty to find a reasonable and appropriate place to line)

- she is spared from the fatigue of daily travel to the school. (the local transportation to rural area is unreliable and quite inconsistent).

- the community trusts the local teacher, respects her opinion and takes her a wise person with knowledge.

- there is a sense of pride on her to work for the betterment of her people.

The principal of the primary school plays a key role in the innovation. His delegated authority over the teachers can block the innovative attempts even when the teachers favour it. On the other hand his positive attitude can force the teachers to make accommodations to new teaching techniques.

In the context of the experiemntal school we found the following variables inhibiting the change in school.

1. The traditioal aspect of the society as reflected by the attitudes and habits of the teachers. According to Huberman (1973,p.41).

> "the stronger the cultural cohesiveness and hence the influence of neighbourhood and kinship group, the slower will be the acceptance of new ideas and practices..... Such characteristics as the extended family system, the class

structure based on traditional social status, religious and ethical values emphasizing duty or obedience rather than initiative and rationability - all tend to perpectuate an eduation system based on memorization, ritualization, fixed status, discipline-centered methods, verbalism; social prejudice.

In our authoritaion society habits and attitudes do not change readily.

2. The lack of the administrative control of the National Institute of Psychology. The teachers were transferred out without our consents with the result a lot of time was spent in getting the teacher back.

3. The maternity leave on the part of the female staff further blocked and delayed the program. With the project's duration of two years and the staff members, taking leave one after another upset the programme a lot. With the result we got busy with dealing problems other than related to objectives of the project.

4. The lack of knowledge of curriculum contents on the part of the teacher.

5. The fragmented support from the community due to old family and political affiliations.

Recommendations

1. "School is the logical unit of change". All innovations must be geared towards changing the existing school practices.

2. The principal of the shools should be patronised for the implementation of the change.

3. The teachers should be considered central to all innovation attempts.

4. Teachers training aspect should not be treated lightly.

5. Instead of expecting the community to affect the school performance the school should be geared towards supporting the schooling process of their children.

6. The purpose of innovation should be institutionalisation of change and not merely a temporary shift of routine by "matching the ideal with the actual".

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